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1905

Saskatchewan History

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THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

Liberal Politics, Federal Policies, and the Lieutenant-Governor: Saskatchewan and Alberta 1905¹

THE lieutenant-governor is both the representative of the federal government in the Canadian provinces, appointed, instructed, and dismissable by it, and the representative of the Crown insofar as the working of cabinet government is concerned. Since these two aspects are so completely fused in the one office it is often impossible to clearly separate them, and the discretionary powers of the representative of the Crown may on occasion be used in the interests of the federal government. Moreover since the central government is formed from a political party it is often difficult to separate the interests of the government from the interests of the party. The formation of the first provincial governments in Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 is an excellent illustration of the general problem; the discretionary power of the lieutenant-governor to select his ministers was definitely exercised in the interests both of the federal government and of the Liberal party, then in power in Ottawa.

By 1905 the demand for provincial status had long been in the air, although only after the turn of the century did it become a matter of immediate political importance. The Laurier administration had no desire to impede this inevitable development, but even the most unobservant could see that any solution would be a thorny one. The evils that had followed the premature entrance of Manitoba into the federation had not been forgotten, and many people were inclined to question the grant of provincial status to two more provinces in the West. Unquestionably, territorial society was sufficiently mature, as the event proved; the doubts were nonetheless legitimate. Furthermore, serious disputes were bound to arise, both in the West and in the East. Unlike the other provinces (except Manitoba), the new ones would be the creations of the federal government, which naturally considered itself empowered to decide upon the terms of creation; negotiation in fact might properly be said to have been a courtesy extended to the territorial government, rather than a stern necessity. The federal government could gain little: terms unacceptable in the Territories would affect Liberal power in the West; terms acceptable there might easily be criticized in other parts of the nation, particularly those concerning finance and education. This unenviable position was to some extent improved by the irresistible pressure from the West; Laurier could answer his eastern critics by pointing out that he had acted solely in deference to the wishes of the people, for was not local self-determination basic in the Liberal creed? As Walter Scott observed, "Haultain was really playing into Laurier's hands, just as the Tories elsewhere have been doing with Dundonald, the Tariff, the G.T.P. and generally. As effectively as he could do it he has made inevitable action easy on Laurier's part."²

¹The author would like to record his appreciation for grants from the Social Science Research Council, the Canadian Social Science Research Council, and the Humanities Research Council, that made possible a study of the office of the lieutenant-governor of which this essay is a by-product.

²Archives of Saskatchewan (AS), Walter Scott Papers, Scott to T. M. Bryce, February 2, 1905.

The creation of two provinces necessitated the establishment of two governments where there had been one previously. The constitutions of the provinces were set out in the acts passed by Parliament, but the actual initiation was left to the lieutenant-governors. It was universally agreed that A. E. Forget, the lieutenant-governor of the Territories, would be re-appointed, and that he would stay in Regina, thus becoming the first lieutenant-governor of Saskatchewan.³ The other appointment was less foreseeable. There were, however, very good reasons for the selection of George H. V. Bulyea.

The Liberal party in the West owed Bulyea a good deal. He had been a prominent member of the territorial government. As the autonomy question came more and more to the fore he grew restless and wished to resign, but at the request of other Liberals he remained in the government. The reason was later divulged by Scott:

When the pinch came in 1903 I expected a general federal election that coming winter. It is easy now after the event to gauge public sentiment regarding autonomy. It was not so easy then. Bulyea's resignation would have necessitated local general elections and would have saddled the Liberals with the onus of bringing in a party division, and I feared that autonomy would in the melee become an exciting issue, that is to say that people would become exercised over it to a degree that might injure us in the later federal fight.⁴

To prevent the characterization of the Liberals as opponents of autonomy, Bulyea stayed in the government, which thus retained its non-partisan composition, and in 1905 he was a delegate to Ottawa when the terms were being discussed. The Liberal party was certainly obligated to him, yet at the same time his "standing in the breach" had injured his reputation and political position in the Territories, and it was doubted whether he could successfully carry either province in the first election.⁵ He had, therefore, to be shelved. What would it be? the Senate or the lieutenant-governorship of Alberta? Laurier and his western colleagues decided on the latter. The Prime Minister's offer emphasized not that his political usefulness had ceased, but that Bulyea might find it difficult to openly fight Haultain, with whom he had been associated for such a long time, "with all the firmness which a political contest means in this country . . ."⁶ Bulyea was not deceived; he agreed that his record would seriously hamper the party in both provinces.⁷

As soon as possible after September 1, 1905, these two men—Forget and Bulyea—would ask someone to form a government. Whom would they call? At first there seemed to be no problem at all; when Haultain and Bulyea came to Ottawa in January, 1905, Laurier thought,

³Regina *Leader*, March 22, 1905, Scott to Laird. Scott later felt that it might be best if Forget went to Alberta to give that province "the advantages of his knowledge of constitutional procedure." (AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Calder, June 17, 1905). This was impossible, as will be seen, when Haultain decided to stay in Saskatchewan.

⁴AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Bryce, January 17, 1905. See also: Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Laurier Papers, vol. 377, Bulyea to Laurier, August 5, 1905.

⁵AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Calder, June 17, 1905; G. W. Brown to Scott, June 28, 1905.

⁶PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 377, Laurier to Bulyea, confidential, July 25, 1905.

⁷*Ibid.*, Bulyea to Laurier, August 5, 1905.

... and indeed everyone thought, that as soon as the two provinces came into existence, the then existing government of the territories would naturally become the government of Saskatchewan.⁸

Haultain would then have become the first premier. Unquestionably that recognition would have been well earned: since 1897 he had been the territorial premier and for almost a decade before that he had been a member of the Advisory Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee; his government had been non-partisan, but his own position had been unchallenged; he had been returned in 1902 with the support of 24 of the 35 members; he had led the struggle for autonomy and was thus really the "Father" of the new province. Yet Haultain was not asked to form the first provincial government of Saskatchewan.

The story of the autonomy negotiations has been often told.⁹ It is sufficient to recall here that on each of the major propositions Haultain and Laurier differed: Haultain desired one province and provincial control of public lands and education; Laurier insisted on two provinces, federal control of public lands, and a compromise on the schools question; they also disagreed on the financial terms. Negotiations almost foundered on the educational question; faced with the resignation of Clifford Sifton and the threatened wholesale revolt of the western M.P.'s, Laurier incurred momentary unpopularity in Quebec by agreeing to compromise.¹⁰ This compromise was accepted by the western Liberals and by Sifton, although the latter refused to re-enter the cabinet. With Haultain, however, it was otherwise. As the western Liberals swung into line behind Laurier's Liberal government, Haultain moved further into opposition. In federal politics he had always been a Conservative. Now, on February 14, 1905, he declared his unrelenting opposition to the educational clause.¹¹ Several weeks later, after the compromise had been arranged, Haultain openly denounced the whole scheme; it was, he said, the complete ruination of provincial autonomy.¹² His statement "was recognized as a gauntlet of defiance to the Federal authorities and an indication that he would do what was possible to fire the Western heather against

⁸*Ibid.*, Laurier to Bulyea, confidential, July 25, 1905.

⁹See C. C. Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada—The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories*, (Toronto, 1946); John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times*, (Toronto, 1931); O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, (Toronto, 1921).

¹⁰Scott throws some interesting light on the crisis. "I am convinced myself that but for what is either unpardonable stupidity or unpardonable selfishness or both these measures would have gone through with a very minimum complaint or disturbance. As you know I was always willing to stand for continuance of the schools constitution the way they had it since 1875. The North-West Members were united in this position. In all the conferences we had with the Government we were given to understand that they intended to provide just that and nothing more. The education clause itself has been very carefully framed to appear innocent on the surface but careful analysis of it shows that it is the most comprehensive clause providing for a separate school system that could be devised.

Of course Sifton is out now and is not committed to anything. When a man once breaks out it is hard to tell how far he will go. I may say to you, however, confidentially that I am positive that he was willing to stand with us for the separate school as we have it in the North-West to-day. Even yet I am hopeful that if the Bill is modified to meet our views in this respect that Sifton will be found ready as a private member to support it. This is the solution which I think there is some reason to hope can be found." (AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Brown, March 2, 1905).

¹¹University of Alberta Library (UAL), Rutherford Papers, Talbot to Rutherford, confidential, February 24, 1905; Lingard, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹²Toronto *Globe*, March 13, 1905; Lingard, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.

the Autonomy legislation.”¹³ Not only did he oppose the Bill, but he willingly allied himself with the Conservative party; he was “in all the secrets of the enemy and helping them to the extent of his ability.”¹⁴

Since Haultain, although the leader of a non-partisan government, was a Tory in federal politics, western Liberals had always been reluctant to admit that he would have to be asked to form one of the two governments in the West. They admitted, however, that “by following precedent” his selection was almost inevitable.¹⁵ In which province would Haultain stake his future? Alberta Liberals felt sure he would play the political game there, and agreed that he should be accepted as premier if the other members of the cabinet were to their liking; in other words, the old non-partisan government was to be retained in the province.¹⁶ When it became apparent that he planned to remain in Saskatchewan, the Liberals in that province became concerned. Walter Scott, member of Parliament for Assiniboia West, broached the idea of having Haultain called in Alberta; presumably he would refuse, but there could be no argument that he had been overlooked.¹⁷ However, nothing came of this suggestion.

The chief difficulty faced by the western Liberals was less the stirrings of their tender consciences than the opposition of Laurier, who for a long time was unwilling to approve any suggestion that Haultain be by-passed. The Prime Minister’s determination on this count—soon to become hesitation and finally surrender—was the result not of his political scruples but of his philosophical beliefs regarding the Canadian federal system. Although his actions when in power belied his principles when in opposition, Laurier had, throughout his career, stood out for the non-interference of both the federal government and federal politicians in provincial affairs. To issue an order that Haultain was not to be summoned would, of course, be an open interference in a matter which, although of immense importance to the federal government and the Liberal party, could hardly be termed a legitimate exercise of his power.

The decision was taken from Laurier’s hands. When Haultain campaigned vigorously and viciously on the Conservative behalf in two Ontario by-elections in June 1905, and stated emphatically that if he won power in the West he would go to any length to secure a revision of the settlement, the Liberals decided against him. Frank Oliver, by this time the western representative in the Laurier cabinet, refused to have him summoned in either province under any circumstances, on the ground (as Scott put it) that his recent activity “is about all the reason that is needed to excuse passing him over.”¹⁸ Laurier was finally convinced:

When in the early part of the struggle which followed the introduction of the bills, Haultain went out of his way to openly take side with the opposition, I am free to admit that I was keenly disappointed but even then

¹³*Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, p. 57.

¹⁴UAL, Rutherford Papers, Talbot to Rutherford, confidential, March 22, 1905.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, February 24, 1905.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, March 22, 1905.

¹⁷AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Bulyea, private and confidential, May 20, 1905.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, June 17, 1905.

I did not come to the conclusion that the breach was irreparable. When, however, he threw himself into the contests of London and North Oxford and especially when he announced his intention of carrying on provincial elections on the avowed policy of destroying the school system . . . he left us no alternative, but to accept the declaration of war.¹⁹

If Laurier had arrived at this decision during the bye-elections he did not at once let his colleagues know. Early in July Scott informed a close political friend that

Laurier still sticks in some degree to the idea that, notwithstanding all that has occurred, our best policy will be to call Haultain in Alberta. So far as I know no other man here holds that opinion any longer and in face of the unanimous opinion which prevails I fancy that Laurier will be compelled to relinquish the idea.²⁰

Laurier did indeed; but it is apparent that he regretted "the impossibility of doing what, under ordinary circumstances, would have been the obvious thing."²¹

The decision had been made. Two Liberals were to be called, and two Liberal governments formed. It is singular that no mention was made of the personal prerogative of the lieutenant-governor; it was taken for granted that his personal discretion would be exercised as the party and the federal government saw fit. The representative of the Crown was to be neither impartial nor independent; he was to act as a federal officer (in an unusual and hardly legitimate sense) and a party member. If the federal government did not instruct the lieutenant-governors to call on acceptable Liberals, both government and party would "simply stultify themselves, and give an exhibition of weakness",²² and, at the same time, show "little regard for the provincial Liberals . . ."²³

All that remained was the selection of provincial Liberal leaders. In Saskatchewan there were only two candidates, Walter Scott and J. A. Calder. Scott was one of the leading Liberals in the West. After Sifton's resignation, he had hopes of entering the cabinet, but when Laurier, probably on Sifton's advice, asked Frank Oliver instead, he became the obvious choice.²⁴ For a long time Scott continued to press Calder to accept the provincial leadership, but leading Liberals were quite convinced that Scott was the man. The Liberal convention in due time chose Scott, and Forget asked him to form a government.

¹⁹PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 377, Laurier to Bulyea, confidential, July 25, 1905.

²⁰AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Brown, private and confidential, July 4, 1905.

²¹*Ibid.*, Scott to Bulyea, private and confidential, July 25, 1905.

²²*Ibid.*, Scott to Calder, private and confidential, July 12, 1905.

²³PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 393, C. W. Cross to Talbot, personal, July 3, 1905.

²⁴See Dafoe, *Sifton*, p. 301n. As early as March 2 Scott had mentioned his own appointment to the cabinet: "Naturally there is much speculation with regard to Sifton's successor. I have no intimation as to Laurier's intention but of course will not be very greatly surprised to be sent for myself. Just what my answer would be in this case it is yet too early to say excepting that no western member could possibly accept office or support the education clause as it stands." (AS, Scott Papers, Scott to Brown, March 2, 1905). Talbot wrote that Scott and Oliver were rivals, but felt that Scott would get it: "I don't think Sifton will go back as Min. of the Interior. I think Scott is booked for that position and I fear Oliver will be disappointed. There may be a row . . ." (UAL, Rutherford Papers, Talbot to Rutherford, confidential, April 2, 1905; also *Ibid.*, March 28, 1905.)

Once Oliver became Minister of the Interior, the choice in Alberta boiled down to two people, Peter Talbot and Alex Rutherford. Talbot, a member of the House of Commons, was the overwhelming favourite; Laurier, Scott, Bulyea, Brown, Forget and numerous others agreed that he was better qualified and more likely to succeed. Talbot himself was not much concerned, and declared his willingness to do whatever the interests of the party called for. Rutherford, on the other hand, a member of the territorial legislature since 1902, was determined to secure the leadership, and the office that would go with it, at any cost. At Laurier's request Talbot went west in July to size up the situation. He reported that as far as political strength was concerned, there was little to choose between them, but added that since Rutherford had committed himself to the headship it would be best to let him have it rather than split the party.²⁵ Talbot did not let his name go before the party convention and Rutherford was elected. Laurier was not particularly pleased and may perhaps have hoped that Bulyea would select Talbot anyway.²⁶ Rutherford was asked to form a government soon after the provinces had been created.

Rutherford's selection passed without much comment; protests were voiced throughout Canada when the selection of Scott was announced. Laurier had previously stated in the House of Commons that the choice of the first premiers was the exclusive concern of the lieutenant-governor, but few were deceived.²⁷ The *Montreal Gazette* was brief and blunt:

In passing Mr. Haultain over, and selecting for the premiership one of his principal political opponents, a gentleman who was not a member of the late territorial legislature, Lieutenant-Governor Forget made himself a part of the Federal Liberal machine, and sacrificed in part his title to the respect his office should secure him, and which his record gave reason for thinking he would maintain.²⁸

Forget later referred to his action as "the only one . . . which . . . had met with severe criticism," but added that "despite all that has been said . . . he felt sure, in his conscience, that he had done his duty. But whether he had made a mistake or not . . . , his mistake, if it was a mistake, was then and has since been approved by a great majority of the Province."²⁹

The selection of Scott had indeed been overwhelmingly approved, (although it could be argued that whoever was chosen would have been approved); the government won seventeen of the twenty-five seats in the legislature, and, under various leaders, remained in power until 1929. The election was fought in great part on the autonomy Acts: while denying any subservience to Ottawa or to Laurier, Scott fully endorsed the settlement; Haultain formed a Provincial Rights party, the program of which centered around complete provincial auton-

²⁵PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 377, Talbot to Laurier, August 7, 1905; Bulyea to Laurier, August 5, 1905.

²⁶He believed Talbot was by far the best man for the job, but informed Bulyea that this was "a matter as to which of course, your better judgement must prevail." (PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 377, Laurier to Bulyea, August 11, 1905).

²⁷House of Commons *Debates*, 1905, p. 7744.

²⁸September 7, 1905.

²⁹Regina *Morning Leader*, October 15, 1910.

omy, better financial terms, and a separation of federal and provincial politics.³⁰ Haultain attempted as well to make an issue of the lieutenant-governor's action, asking the electors if they wanted a federal and a Liberal puppet in Government House. Scott openly admitted that Haultain had been the logical choice until he decided to wreck the settlement: "That the Crown acted upon Liberal advice is a charge I shall not try to refute."³¹

This advice, however, was not that of any provincial advisers, but of the Laurier administration; it was not given through constitutional channels, but through political ones. This was the point emphasized by Robert Borden, the Conservative chief, when the House of Commons next met. Laurier denied any interference at all; Forget had every right to bypass Haultain if he so desired; he had the constitutional right to call on any man in Saskatchewan he thought could form a government. Frank Oliver threw in a red herring by arguing that Haultain was from Alberta; Bulyea, not Forget, he suggested, should be criticized, if criticism there must be.³² Later in the year, with more information at hand, (including a letter from Scott, which had somehow slipped into his hands, indicating that Laurier had only reluctantly, and after much hesitation, agreed that Haultain was not to be called), Borden again brought the matter to the attention of the Commons.

What has the Prime Minister of Canada to do with passing over Mr. Haultain? Is that not the business of the Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan? Have we not a constitution in this country under which we are supposed to have lieutenant governors who act independently of the federal authority? Is not the whole basis of our constitution dependent upon that principle?³³

Borden observed that Laurier's action was in complete contradiction to his beliefs, so ardently espoused while in opposition, for he had then been a staunch upholder and guardian of provincial rights. As for the lieutenant-governor:

He is not an officer of the federal government; he is the direct representative of the Crown, and any attempt to undermine the dignity and independence of such an officer is in my opinion a blow aimed against the spirit and indeed against the letter of the constitution.

Similar criticism has been made in more recent years, by scholars as well as politicians; Dr. C. C. Lingard, for example, declares without qualification that Forget "left himself open to the charge of being the willing instrument of a federal party machine. The Crown, according to constitutional custom, was above and beyond party politics, and so far as His Honour could judge Mr. Haultain still retained the confidence of the people."³⁴

These arguments are only in part correct. The lieutenant-governor is a federal officer, appointed, paid, dismissable, and instructed, by the federal government. His position as a federal officer was in principle identical to that of the colonial governor as an imperial officer. The extent to which the colonial governor was entitled or advised to use his discretionary power in the interests of the imperial

³⁰In this latter point Haultain was reflecting a genuine western political tradition.

³¹Cited in: House of Commons *Debates*, 1906, p. 111.

³²*Ibid.*, 1906, pp. 43 ff, 52 ff, and 118 ff.

³³*Ibid.*, 1906-7, pp. 26-7.

³⁴Lingard, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

government was never reduced to definition, nor has it been insofar as the lieutenant-governor and federal interests are concerned. Even a cursory reading of Canadian history in the 1860's, for example, will reveal how often such powers were exercised and how important they were. Dr. Lingard refers to this period and suggests that passing over Haultain was as unjustified as passing over John A. Macdonald in 1867 would have been. This seems sound on the surface and is an attractive argument, but it should be remembered that Macdonald was the prime mover and the staunchest upholder of the settlement that had brought Canada into being. Haultain was the determined opponent of the settlement of 1905.

Furthermore, a good constitutional argument can be set forth to justify the selection of Scott and Rutherford. Although the territorial government had been non-partisan, there was a general desire, once provincial status had been achieved, to establish the two-party system in each of the provinces; Haultain's action had made this inevitable if it had not already been so. One can safely say that the old territorial government was in fact dissolved before it formally came to an end. Under such circumstances the clear duty of the lieutenant-governors was to select the leader of the party that had the support of the people. As Forget declared, "les Lieutenants-Gouverneurs n'ont donc, à mon avis, d'autre alternative, que de choisir leur premier Ministre dans celui des deux partis politiques qui, pour le moment, semble avoir, la majorité."³⁵ The question was, of course, which of the two parties had the majority.

Judging from the affiliations with federal parties listed in the *Parliamentary Guide*, the majority of the members of the territorial legislature were Liberals. There was, however, an even surer guide, the federal elections of 1904 that had been fought on strict party lines. Seven of the ten members sent from the Territories were Liberals. This, declared the lieutenant-governor, "ne laisse aucune doute."³⁶ The danger and illogicality of gauging political strength in the provinces by the vote in a federal election is at once apparent. Given the peculiar circumstances of 1905, however, it was less open to censure, for it was, after all, the policy of the federal government that was at issue and upon which the electorate would be asked to express their opinion.

When all is said, the truth remains that the decision to pass over Haultain, whose claims—politically and constitutionally—were indeed substantial, was a political act. The decision was forced on Laurier by Haultain's indiscreet opposition to federal policy—opposition that threatened to re-open, with all its bitterness and viciousness, the whole racial, religious, and linguistic question in Canada—and the pressure of the less principled western Liberals, who, regardless of Haultain's course had wanted to overlook him from the beginning. To suppose that the federal authorities, with the means at hand to secure a sympathetic government in the new provinces, would have neglected to use whatever power or influence they possessed, legitimately or otherwise, is to credit men with a too respectful concern for the forms of political life; politicians are interested essentially in the forces that give these forms life. In Canada at least it would have been an unprecedented and unexpected act of abnegation.

JOHN TUPPER SAYWELL.

³⁵PAC, Laurier Papers, vol. 374, Forget to Laurier, confidential, July 10, 1905.

³⁶*Ibid.*

The History of the Bruno Clay Works

IN May, 1904, C. Honisch, wife and six children left Manchester, Oklahoma, in a covered wagon drawn by a team of horses and a two-wheeled cart drawn by a single horse, for their homestead in Saskatchewan, Canada, previously filed through an immigration agency. They arrived in Rosthern the first week in October. After a few days rest, well supplied with maps the family set out to locate their homestead which was the S.E. quarter, section 24, township 38, r. 25, W. 2nd M., two miles west of Bruno station. Mr. Honisch halted his covered wagon and cart, their home on wheels for five months, looked over his new possession of one hundred and sixty acres of beautiful prairie, lots of grass—prairie wool as it was called, and plenty of gophers, and that was all. Next day the wagon was dismantled, the horses hitched to the wagon gear and off they went, father and thirteen-year-old son Frank, to the bush for logs to build a permanent home. Bush in this park area was plentiful at that time and logs could be cut within one and a half to two miles from the homestead.

In the meantime the Canadian Northern Railway was building its main line, Winnipeg to Edmonton roadbed, and cut through a corner of Mr. Honisch's homestead. In the spring of 1905 two brothers, Joseph and Charles Bonas of Muenster, arrived on the homestead with several loads of machinery and supplies, of a type which Mr. Honisch had never before seen. They asked for permission to unload the machinery near the railroad "just where it cuts through that small hill. This is a machine to make brick and we would like to try and make some brick here." Mr. Honisch was dumfounded and replied, "I have travelled over two thousand miles with a family of seven in this covered wagon, forded rivers and creeks, drove through swamps and bush to find and make a home for them, and here as you see, I have nearly finished my log house and another problem faces me. Why make brick on my homestead when there is no other human habitation in sight, and lots of land to set up your machine to make brick? I am tired, I want rest and I want to be left alone so I can build a home for myself and family." Tears came to Honisch's eyes.

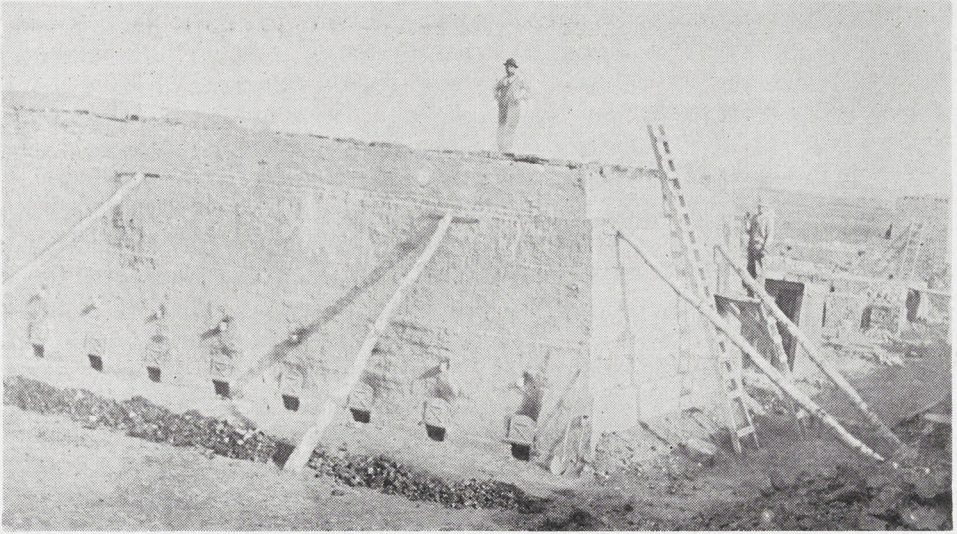
The Bonas brothers then told him they were homesteaders like himself, near Muenster, east of Humboldt; that they had come from Minnesota where they were brickmakers, bricklayers and contractors; that they were at present working for the C.N.R. in Humboldt and had undertaken to build the roundhouses there for the railroad. "We need good brick," they explained. "We tried to make brick at Muenster but the clay there was no good, so we inquired of the C.N.R. if they knew of suitable clay anywhere along their line, and they replied that their roadbed passed through a small hill about two miles west of the Bruno station where their machinery cut through like so much hard butter—no trace of sand or gravel or stone. We are of the opinion this clay might be suitable. The nearest point brick can be obtained now is Winnipeg. So we offered to try out this clay, and we are here now to ask your permission." Then Mr. Honisch, eager to earn a dollar, asked if he and his son Frank could work for them. This of course was gladly accepted. "Not only do we want you and your son's help but we also want the

help of one of your horses as this is a horse power machine." Mr. Honisch's face beamed. He considered this a windfall and like manna in a desert for his family, and gladly consented. The machinery was set up about one hundred feet from the railway track, not yet quite completed, and preparations made to begin manufacturing at once.

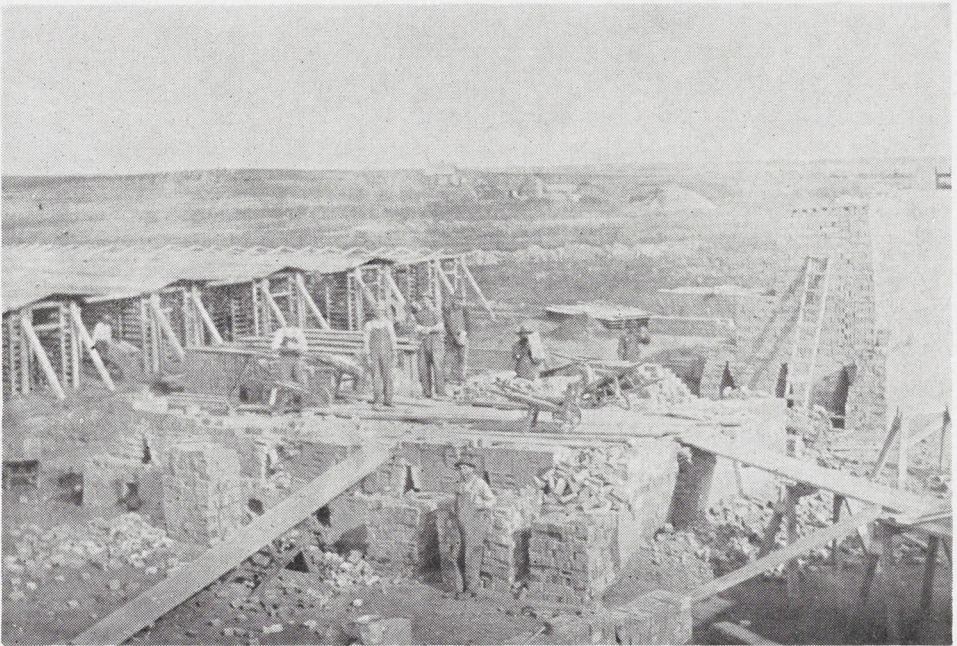
News of the new manufacturing establishment spread like a prairie fire and soon homesteaders from far and near applied for jobs. All were accepted. The sod had to be removed from an extensive plot of prairie and the ground levelled off so that the brick coming from the machine could be dumped there to sun dry. Eight men were employed, and later when the bricks were fit to be stacked in a kiln four more men were employed. Where experienced men were required, like setting brick in the kiln, the Bonas brothers did the work themselves. The entire summer was spent in making several hundred thousand bricks, sufficient for the roundhouse in Humboldt. The Bonas brothers then told Mr. Honisch that they did not intend to continue making brick, as their business was bricklaying and contract work, and that they intended to advertise the machine for sale. This pleased Mr. Honisch, as he did not want his homestead all messed up with broken brick and other debris.

In September, 1906, I arrived in Bruno from Battleford in reply to an advertisement for a teacher in Bruno to open a school; Rev. Father Chrysostom, O.S.B., missionary priest, had already called the children together and classified them pending the arrival of a teacher. I had taught school in the State of Iowa for several years and was also a graduate of the School of Pharmacy of the Iowa State University. Upon being sent west by my doctor on account of poor health I chose Western Canada and was homesteading in what is now the Wilkie district, sixty-five miles south of Battleford, when I read the advertisement for a teacher in Bruno. After arriving there I learned there were plenty of homesteads available near Bruno, so I abandoned my Battleford homestead and filed on one, one and one half miles west of Bruno and one-half mile from Mr. Honisch's homestead and the idle brick machine.

Being close neighbors I soon learned about the brick machine and its history. Mr. Honisch was not interested in the machine and hoped the Bonas brothers would soon dispose of it and get it away from there. He was interested in farming and nothing else. I knew nothing about brick machines and less about manufacturing of brick. I could see, however, the possibilities of a large industry buried here in the hill, in years to come. I talked to Mr. Honisch about it but he would not listen. I made use of every opportunity I had to convince Mr. Honisch of future possibilities. Finally he consented to form a partnership with me and buy the brick machine for which the Bonas brothers asked \$400.00. Mr. Honisch made one stipulation, that he and his son Frank, who had learned the art of brickmaking from the Bonas brothers, would make the brick but that I would have to guarantee to sell them or pay them for their work in cash. The purpose of this stipulation was only to kill the undertaking and he looked very surprised when I agreed to his proposal.



A brick kiln just started to burn, 1913.



Emptying a kiln of finished brick. (Drying sheds in left background, new kiln under construction in right background).

The agreement was now made. The next question was how to get the money to buy the machine. We did not have \$25.00 cash between us, so we agreed to walk to Humboldt, twenty miles away, and see the banker. But what hope is there to get money at the bank? We pooled our money and found we had better not take the train but walk and save the money for hotel expenses and meals. This was in March, 1908. Next morning early we started for Humboldt along the railway tracks, arrived in the evening, had supper and went to bed. Next morning we went to the Bank of Commerce where a Mr. Campbell was manager. Mr. Honisch could say nothing, because he had already made up his mind all efforts to get money were useless. So I told the manager why we had come, and told him what the Bonas brothers had done and that their roundhouse in Humboldt had been built from brick from this place, and that now the Bonas brothers wanted to sell the machine as they did not intend to go into the brick manufacturing business. The usual questions were then asked, and Mr. Campbell smiled. He admired our courage and smiled again. We had almost given up all hope when he said, "I kind of like the looks of you two men. How much money do you need to carry out your plan?" We informed him we needed \$400.00 to buy the machine and that we would like another \$400.00 credit to pay our men until some money came in. He thought for a moment, smiled again and then said, "O.K., then you both will sign this note for \$800.00." Mr. Honisch was so excited he could hardly sign his name. We were glad, for things had gone well so far, but depressed when we thought of the liability we had just assumed which looked like an immense mountain of debt to us poor homesteaders. That afternoon we walked to Muenster, six miles east, bought the machine and returned to Humboldt in the evening. We now had \$400.00 in the bank to our credit, but we did not dare touch it to buy train tickets; so the next morning we started back for Bruno on foot. One and one-half miles from Bruno, Honisch's strength failed him and he would walk no further, so we took a rest and then walked arm in arm wavering and stumbling the rest of the way like two drunken men. We arrived at my house at Bruno eventually but could not lift our feet to the door sill. By trying to do so we both fell flat on our faces into the house thereby scaring Mrs. Hargarten nearly out of her wits, because we were hardly able to get up. Frank Honisch then came to get his father with a wagon.

When spring came we were ready to go. Many homesteaders who had worked for the Bonas brothers applied again for a job and they were gladly taken on, having had previous experience. I was teaching school, and after school hours I would hurry to the brickyard to help do what I could. Mr. Honisch was fulfilling his part of the contract we had entered into and I could see finished brick in the offing waiting to be sold. I had guaranteed the sale of all brick we would make. The country by this time was getting well settled and shack after shack was going up but none had a brick chimney, just a stovepipe through the roof. One evening I sat down and wrote a number of posters by hand and mailed them to post offices east and west asking the postmasters to please post. Some I also sent to station agents. About the time our first kiln was ready for delivery, containing 100,000 bricks, the passenger train from the west began to "toot, toot, toot" the emergency call, and all men stopped to see what would happen.

When the engine came in sight from behind the hill we noticed the fireman standing on the tender with something white in his hand. When close to the yard he threw it over, a man picked it up and here was a letter ordering a carload of brick. The letter had been tied around a chunk of coal by the fireman and tossed into our yard. The brick had been ordered by the C.N.R. for their round-house at North Battleford. So the first order for a carload of brick came via a chunk of coal. I immediately acknowledged the order with thanks, tied my letter to a four-foot stick, went to the railroad track when the passenger from the east came, held the stick so the engineer could reach it and the letter was on its way. This incident caused a rousing enthusiasm among us all. The next day the train from the east gave the same alarm and everybody looked to the east hollering, "There comes an order for another carload of brick." The train kept on tooting but seemed to make no headway, so the boys got uneasy and ran up the small hill to see what was holding up the train. Here we saw "Jim", Mr. Albert Hergott's work ox, walking leisurely ahead of the train on a high embankment, the fireman sitting on the cow-catcher with coal poker in his hand poking the ox. Jim was unconcerned about the whole matter until they came to a road crossing when he thought he better get out of the way. It was lucky for Jim because the engineer had a long range view of the track at this point and there might have been a ton of dead beef.

More orders came from Battleford and many carloads were shipped to lumber-yards along the line. Our brickyard could not keep up with the orders and I wrote many letters regretting that we could not deliver the brick this time owing to the many orders already booked for delivery. Although the bricks were made less than one hundred yards from the railway track, for shipment we had to haul them by team to Bruno to load them in a railway car. At the end of 1908 we had paid all our debts and had enough money left to partly pay for erecting drying sheds. With the aid of drying sheds we were able to turn out more bricks, as intermittent rains had spoiled many for us out in the open. Many bricks were sold at the yard, people coming from forty to fifty miles away to get loads of brick to build a chimney for themselves and a neighbor. We worked hard for two years trying to create a stockpile and partly succeeded. Because our homestead work had been neglected and the necessary improvement on our homesteads had not been made to apply for patent, the brickyard was idle for the next two years. In spite of our success so far, Mr. Honisch was not impressed with the manufacturing business. He had acquired another quarter section of land and he wanted to farm; therefore he asked me to consider him out and for me to go ahead and develop the yard further if I so wished.

I then got in touch with a friend of mine, Mr. F. A. Bolduan of Chicago, who was in Canada at the time promoting the sale of a gopher poison, and he was very much interested. We then applied for incorporation with an authorized capital of \$100,000 and changed the name from Bruno Brickyard to Bruno Clay Works. We expressed five hundred pounds of clay to a brick machine company in Bucyrus, Ohio, asking them to make miniature samples of any product the clay was good for. In due time the samples arrived, consisting of interlocking tile,

partition tile, drainage tile in all sizes, different kinds of brick, and all sizes of flower-pots. Mr. Bolduan took some samples and went back to Chicago, while I was to try to sell some stock locally. I did succeed in selling some in this way. I also armed myself with samples and went to Saskatoon to try to interest the building contractor there, who in turn might be able to interest investors. Several meetings were held and they promised to take the entire stock provided the factory be built in Factoria, about ten miles north of Saskatoon, where evidently a manufacturing district had been planned. I would not agree to this provision, probably for sentimental reasons, but mostly for business reasons, because this would increase the overhead of the company to such an extent that it would be impossible to meet competition at some future time. The meeting was then adjourned indefinitely. This was in 1913.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Bolduan wired that sufficient stock had been sold and to go ahead with the plant. I bought Mr. Honisch's half section of land for the company, and he in turn bought a half section bordering on the village of Bruno. A. W. Weir, an expert in this work, was hired and made superintendent; Bolduan became president and I was appointed manager. Bolduan and Weir went from Chicago to Ohio and bought the machinery, while I hired men and teams of horses to level the ground. The C.N.R. sent surveyors and we put a spur from the main line to the yard. Steam boilers soon arrived and were put in place, the old mould machine was used and a new one also came and both were put in operation as soon as steam engines and boilers were in position. Sixty-five men were employed and the two machines were in operation while sheds were built and new machinery installed. At the end of 1914 the new plant was finished and one million bricks were made and shipped, except several hundred thousand which we had used for construction. The two mould machines were sold and a new modern brick press took their place. The brick plant was now well established, and in 1916 I sold out my shares to the company and took a pharmacy course at the University for my Canadian papers, and went back into the drugstore business, opening the first drugstore in Bruno.

In 1947 the plant was sold to the Alsop Brick and Tile Co. of Winnipeg, who also own several yards in Manitoba. Mr. Al Graham is manager and Albert Felix is local plant superintendent. They employ twenty-four men, and have a weekly output of from nine to twelve carloads of brick.

W. F. HARGARTEN.

DOCUMENTS OF WESTERN HISTORY

The Diary of Lieut. J. A. V. Preston, 1885

John Alexander Victor Preston, the author of the diary which appears in the following pages, was twenty-two years old when he and his comrades-in-arms sailed down the South Saskatchewan towards Batoche in the steamer *Northcote* in the spring of 1885. Though still a youth, he was a veteran member of the Canadian militia, which he had joined at the age of thirteen, as a private. Now, as a lieutenant, he was looking forward with enthusiasm to an engagement which would test the effectiveness of years of drill and peace-time manoeuvres. He was attached to "D" company of the Midland Battalion, one of eight companies (382 men) from east-central Ontario which were hurriedly recruited when news of the fight at Duck Lake reached the East on March 27, 1885. The Midland Battalion was the second largest Eastern Canadian unit (the Halifax Battalion had 383 men) to participate in the suppression of the Rebellion.

Whatever young Lieutenant Preston's expectations of military adventure and glory may have been, they were not fulfilled in 1885. "D" company, much to his disgust, was ordered (along with "B" company) to disembark at Clarke's Crossing and guard the supply depot at that point. The battle of Fish Creek had taken place ten days before, and the decisive engagement at Batoche is recorded in the diary as the sound of gunfire which "seems to follow the river banks." The only satisfaction for Preston and his companions was that the other two companies of Midlanders ("A" and "C") played a decisive role in the charge which captured the Métis stronghold on May 12th.

Preston's company reached Batoche the day after the fighting ended. Later it marched to Prince Albert, from which point it was transported upstream on the steamer *North-West* to Battleford, along with other units of Middleton's force.

Expectations of seeing military action were revived a week later when the company was sent further up the North Saskatchewan to aid in the pursuit of Big Bear. Here again, however, Preston was disappointed. His company was sent to support General Strange who commanded the force which was to prevent Big Bear from escaping to the west of Frog Lake; but the chief's course after the battle of Frenchman's Butte was in a north-easterly direction, and "D" spent most of its time in camp at Frog Lake and Fort Pitt.

Though there are only faint echoes of the fighting in Preston's diary, his descriptions contain much interesting detail on other aspects of the campaign: the arduous journey over the partially completed C.P.R. line north of Lake Superior; the journey by water down the South Saskatchewan from Saskatchewan Landing to Clarke's Crossing; the return journey via Lake Winnipeg. Here and there the entries are supplemented by "notes" added in later years.

Thirty years after his service on the prairies the diarist again heard guns fired in anger, but this time he was not denied his share of battle experience. In 1914 he became the commander of the 39th Battalion, C.E.F., and went overseas with this unit a year later. From 1917 to 1919 he was O.C. of the 6th Infantry Brigade.

Colonel J. A. V. Preston, B.A., LL.B., K.C., V.D., died in Orangeville, Ontario, on December 8, 1950, in his 88th year. He had practiced law at Millbrook after graduating from the University of Toronto, and later at Grand Valley. In 1906 he was appointed Local Registrar at Orangeville for the Supreme Court of Ontario, and in this town he was a leader in many civic enterprises and organizational activities.

The Preston diary is reproduced here through the courtesy of the members of Colonel Preston's family, and particularly of his daughter, Mrs. Norman M. Parks of Ottawa.

The Editor.

NORTH WEST CAMPAIGN, 1885

Toronto, Saturday, 28th March, 1885.

Received late this evening, per J. J. Preston, Bethany, and A. J. Armstrong, Toronto, wire from Lt.-Col. A. T. H. Williams, that he had been authorized to raise a Battalion for service in the North West and directing me to join Captain Winslow at Millbrook and raise a Company from Cavan and Manvers.

Sunday, 29th March.

Reported to Captain Winslow at New Fort where he was just completing a course of instruction, and arranged to proceed to Bethany in the morning and do what recruiting might be possible.

Monday, 30th March.

Arrived at Bethany at noon, had arms and equipment for a half Company transferred from Lifford to Town Hall, Bethany, and opened recruiting list. Recruiting found to be difficult, owing to lack of publicity and impossibility in the time available to cover much of the Township. There was still plenty of snow and good sleighing, spring not having noticeably appeared. Had difficulty also in getting arms and equipment, as Captain of the Lifford Company had had no notice of my mission and had to get wire for him from the Colonel authorizing him to deliver the required stores.

Wednesday, 1st April.

Boarded morning train for Port Hope, with 14 men. Joined Capt. Winslow at Millbrook, where he took same train with Millbrook and Cavan men. Lindsay detachment of 45th Battalion was also on board. At Port Hope joined further detachments from Bowmanville and Port Hope and entrained at once for Kingston, where the Provisional Battalion was to be organized. Arrived at Kingston about 4 p.m., where the Midland Battalion paraded as a unit for the first time, a rather ragged parade, as no one knew much about the organization or who was who. Our Company turned out to be "D", and with "C" Company (45th Battalion detachment), was quartered in Fort Henry, about a mile from the city.

Thursday, 2nd April.

A terrific snow storm has raged last night and all day to-day. The snow is piled mountains high between the Fort and the city, so that it is almost impossible to reach the town.

Sunday, 5th April.

The time since our arrival at Kingston has been spent organizing and equipping and getting in what training has been possible indoors. Snow is too deep for any work outside the buildings. Many of the men have had no previous training and few of them have had very much. Our Company, being several under strength, has taken over a number of surplus men from the 45th detachment, which they brought over and above establishment. We have also had two Officers attached, both of whom are R.M.C. Graduates, Lieut. Robert Cartwright (eldest son of Sir Richard), and Lieut. H. C. Nanton. Several other R.M.C. officers were attached to other Companies.

Monday, 6th April.

The Battalion entrained at Kingston at 8 a.m., reached Renfrew about dark and immediately started West on the C.P.R. Played whist until 11 p.m. and then turned in, but was routed out at 2:30 next morning for breakfast at Mattawa.

Tuesday, 7th April.

After breakfast we resumed our journey and were bowled along at a rattling pace. For several miles we skirted the shore of Lake Nipissing, the keen frozen surface of which forcibly reminded us of the Great Frozen North on which we were bordering. About 50 miles from Mattawa one of the men, who had evidently become insane, leaped from one of the windows of the Officers' car and before

anyone could stop him was rolling in the snow outside. After much delay the train was stopped and backed up, but the fugitive was found to have taken to the woods and it was impossible to delay the train until he should be found. Consequently, we were obliged to leave the poor fellow to Fate and trust that she would be merciful to him. (*Note:* Later we learned that the run-a-way had turned up at the railway, little the worse for his experience, and the railway men had befriended him and returned him to his home.) Once started again, we were whirled along through a country the most barren and desolate I had ever seen. The only vegetation visible consisted of small trees of tamarack and fir, which managed to eke out a miserable existence in the cracks of the rocks. At Biscotasing we stopped about 4 o'clock for dinner and had a good square meal. The men appeared to be in excellent spirits and anxious to reach the West.

Wednesday, 8th April.

At noon we reached Dalton, the end of the steel, and immediately began a journey of about 50 miles across the country on sleighs. After completing a little less than 30 miles, we stopped at a C.P.R. camp for supper. That disposed of, we resumed our sleigh ride and reached the next section of rail about one o'clock in the morning of the 9th. A few of the men slept in a tent already there, but most of us bivouacked by camp fires on the snow, notwithstanding that the thermometer was more than 20 below zero. It was rather an uncomfortable night. The snow was 3 or 4 feet deep.

Thursday, 9th April.

Early this morning we boarded flat cars and proceeded at a rate of 9 or 10 miles an hour to Port Monroe, a distance of about 90 miles. Here the accommodation was the worst we had had. We had much difficulty in quartering our men and the Company had to be broken up into two or three sections and packed in wherever we could find room.

Friday, 10th April.

After a rather uncomfortable breakfast, the Battalion fell in and started to march across the ice on old Superior to McKeller's Harbour. Before we started we were told that the distance was about 17 miles, but when we had traversed it, we found we had gone a little out of our way and had covered about 23 miles, in less than 7 hours, without stopping for food and with very few rests, and that in a blinding snow storm and over a track of soft snow. The men stood the march in splendid style, particularly the Manvers men, not one of whom fell by the way. Here we boarded open flat cars again and proceeded about 13 miles farther to Jackfish Bay. Here there was a comfortable C.P.R. camp and good meals and we took the whole of the next day (Saturday, 11th April) to recuperate. I never expect to make a more trying march or spend a more exhausting day than that memorable Friday.

Sunday, 12th April.

Boarded sleighs again this morning and started across the ice to a little place, (Winston) said to be within about 7 miles of McKay's Landing. The distance was about 21 miles and the thermometer, when we started, was 32 below. There

we again boarded flat cars, stopped at McKay's Landing, (now perhaps Schreiber) for dinner, then on to Nipigon, a distance of 57 miles (I think), and thence across the ice on foot to Red Rock, by moonlight, a distance said to be about 9 miles, but which seemed to us more like 12 or 13, which we made on a good track in about 3 hours. There we got good cars, emigrant sleepers, for the men; and after a run of three hours we reached Port Arthur, where the Officers obtained a Pullman Sleeper.

Note: The various distances given above are just as I understood them at the time and are, of course, not very accurate. I notice Col. Denison gives the distance of the first gap at 45 miles, which is probably more accurate than mine.

Monday, 13th April.

Had a splendid breakfast at Mecenna (now perhaps Ignace), and proceeded on our way to Winnipeg.

Tuesday, 14th April.

Arrived at Winnipeg early this morning and almost immediately received orders to proceed westward at once. When fairly on our way, we received further orders to proceed to Swift Current and there await further instructions. We are rushing westward over a boundless prairie, from which the snow had disappeared and left behind it numerous ponds of water, or sloughs, (in Western vernacular pronounced "sloo"). For many miles west of Winnipeg the country appears as level as the sea; but after a day's travel we strike ground slightly rolling—Brandon.

Wednesday, 15th April.

Stopped at Moose Jaw for breakfast. This is about the nicest site for a town I have noticed along the line. This afternoon we reached Swift Current, where the 35th Battalion is still encamped, and went under canvas on the prairie. A light rain and a high wind made camping disagreeable.

Sunday, 19th April.

The weather, which was beautiful all the way to Swift Current, has been much colder since we have had a little snow to remind us of our latitude. Today is fine again, and in the morning we had Divine Service in the railway round-house, and spent a rather impressive half hour. We are encamped in a sort of basin surrounded by high land. Have been on duty all day and had the doubtful pleasure of marching the picquet out to the Indian encampment close by, to order in a number of men who were fraternizing with them there. Will have to sleep in my armour alone in the ammunition tent tonight, and do not expect to get much slumber.

Tuesday, 21st April.

The right half of the Battalion ("A", "B", "C" and "D" Companies) has just received orders to march tomorrow morning. We are to do the whole distance to the South Saskatchewan, said to be about 32 miles, in one day, I believe. We have been drilling steadily since we came and are now in a fair condition to fight, if it should be necessary. The men, I think, are not sorry to leave this place, as

there are only half a dozen houses here, besides the railway buildings, and it is a tiresome place to live.

Wednesday, 22nd April.

Left Swift Current at 8 this morning and reached the river at 8 this evening, having halted about two and a half hours for dinner and tea. The trail was in splendid condition for marching, but we are all pretty tired and a few of us used up, although the men stood the double day's march much better than I expected. We boarded the steamer *Northcote* immediately and got into our quarters at once, such as they are. We are very crowded and have none too much comfort. Our Company is quartered in the hold on the right side of the vessel, and most of the Officers bunk on the cabin floor. Cartwright and I sleep on the snow among the oat sacks with which it is loaded.

Thursday, 23rd April.

Started at noon today on our trip down the river, but what with the time lost in rounding the bends of the stream and getting the boat off the numerous sand bars on which she runs we do not make very good time; and we can only run in daylight. (Note: The *Northcote* was a flat-bottomed river craft, with paddle wheel at the stern, drawing about 3 feet of water and burning wood. At either side of the bow was rigged a stout walking pole, operated by a donkey engine. When she ran on a sand bar these poles were advanced as far as possible and stuck on the bottom of the river. The donkey engine then got busy and the boat was lifted up by the poles and carried forward. This operation was repeated until the bar was cleared. Sometimes the poles proved inadequate, and then we had to get out and pull her over by drag ropes, the men being on the shore of course.)

Sunday, 3rd May.

May Day has come and gone on this benighted country with sunshine and solitude, and we are still on the South Saskatchewan River, employing our time by alternately getting on and getting off sand bars. We are still some 50 miles from Clarke's Crossing, for which we are headed. The banks of the river are becoming more and more wooded, but beyond that the country is still all open prairie. We are heartily sick of the trip and shall be very glad when we again tread permanently on the land. This is a beautiful day, but warm for the time of year. The navigation is improving and we have made a good run today. The Colonel read prayers on the scow this morning and again reminded us of home and civilization.

Monday, 4th May.

This morning we passed Saskatoon, where we saw several of the men who had been wounded at Fish Creek. The sight of these brave fellows appeared to fire our fellows with redoubled ardour to reach the front. As we neared Clarke's Crossing this afternoon, "B" and "D" Companies were much disappointed to receive orders to remain there and guard the supplies assembled at that point, while "A" and "C" were to proceed down the river and join Middleton at the front. We had all been expecting to be in the thick of things in a day or two, and here we are cast ashore on a barren prairie, because the powers that be fancy

that it should be so. A soldier's duty, however, is to obey, and we landed at Clarke's and went under canvas as cheerfully as possible, glad at least that the tedious river journey was over. We are quite comfortable here, but have a large amount of guard and picquet duty. There is a large stone house quite near us and we use it for cook-shop and dining room. We have a large quantity of supplies, mainly horse feed, to take care of.

Monday, 11th May.

For three days we have been able to hear the guns at Batoche, about forty miles below us. The sound seems to follow the river banks. From couriers who pass occasionally we learn that our forces are attacking the rebel position at Batoche, but until now with little success. And tonight, Captain Bonnycastle in command of our two Companies received orders from the General to move forward at once and join the main body.

Tuesday, 12th May.

Started early this morning and after marching to Mackintosh's, a distance of about 20 miles, we bivouacked for the night; and just at dark a scout rode in with news that our men that afternoon had charged Batoche and taken it, scattering the rebs. in all directions. The news was good indeed, but we felt we ought to have been there.

Wednesday, 13th May.

Marched the remainder of the way to Batoche today and joined Middleton's command, arriving early in the afternoon. The field still bears all the marks of battle, with some dead half-breeds and Indians. Middleton's men had been fighting practically night and day four days, and when it was over most of them went to sleep and nothing had been done towards clearing the field or burying the dead, which duty devolved on us in large measure on our arrival. We find that the charge which won the day was made, or rather led by Colonel Williams and the two Midland Companies with him. Our Companies had no men killed, but had seven wounded, Lieuts. Laidlaw and Halliwell among them, the latter very severely.

Thursday, 14th May.

Slept in the trenches last night and today marched to Lepine's Crossing, where we encamped for the night.

Friday, 15th May.

Crossed the river today and encamped on the north shore and in the evening learned that Riel had been taken prisoner and brought into camp. We were not invited to view him, however.

Note: The journey down the South Saskatchewan was so monotonous and void of interest that I neglected to note such of its happenings as did occur. The only sleeping accommodation for the Junior Officers was the cabin floor; and the cabin was at once, dining room, lounge and card room, it was impossible to get to bed until a late hour, only to be routed out very early in the morning by the boat's employees in their clearing up and cleaning operations. For the last few

nights on board, Lieut. Tomlinson, of "B" Co'y, and I slept on the hurricane deck, which was the most satisfactory bunk of the trip, except that the sun rose rather early in the morning. I ought to have mentioned also that we had on board with us Major Howard, United States Army, better known later as "Gat" Howard, and one of the two Gatling Guns which he had brought over for use in Canada; and while we wrestled with sand bars or tied up for repairs, he occasionally did a little target practice with his gun for our edification. He was a fine chap, but a typical Yankee who believed that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. He joined Middleton with our two Companies and participated in the operations at Batoche.

Monday, 18th May.

Started for Prince Albert this morning and made one half the distance.

Tuesday, 19th May.

Reached Prince Albert at noon today. It is a small scattered town of about 1,000 people and is the centre of a flourishing settlement and surrounded by a fine country. In fact the country we have traversed between Clarke's and here is one of the finest that could be desired. The land appears excellent for farming purposes; there is abundance of firewood and fence timber, although not much building material. The timber is chiefly poplar, spruce and tamarack, although north of this, I am told, there is much excellent pine. The people of Prince Albert have been shut in from the rest of the world for several weeks and they welcomed us with joy as their deliverers. "E" and "F" Companies, which we left at Swift Current, have rejoined us here.

Wednesday, 20th May.

Chief Beardy visited camp today and swore eternal peace with the whites, which was the immediate result I suppose of the victory at Batoche.

Friday, 22nd May.

Boarded the steamer *North West* this morning for Battleford, and hope to make it in three days. The men are much crowded, but the Officers have good quarters, the boat being considerably larger than the old *Northcote*, although of similar type. The board, however, is rather tough.

Sunday, 24th May.

Arrived at Battleford this evening about sunset, one of the most beautiful spots I have seen in the West. The village and the Police Barracks are on a level tract of high land between the rivers Battle and North Saskatchewan. This plateau is of considerable area and is a splendid site for a town. From the hill across the Battle river, on which Fort Otter is situated, there is a magnificent view. Went up to the Q[ueen's] O[wn] R[ifles] camp and saw all my old Varsity and Toronto friends, who bombarded me with questions concerning the victory at Batoche.

Thursday, 28th May.

Have been having a rather lazy time since our arrival here, drilling but once a day for an hour or two. On Monday, the 25th, we celebrated the Queen's

Birthday by a review and a general salute, or was it a Royal Salute. On Tuesday evening, the 26th, Chief Poundmaker came in with his band and surrendered. He had a big pow-wow with the General (at which I was lucky enough to be present) and justified his action at Cutknife by a plea of self-defence. He is a fine specimen of an Indian of quite intelligent appearance. Many of his braves too are rather fine-looking men. The General kept the Chief and a few of his principal followers prisoners and sent the rest away. Tonight attended a splendid concert given by the Q.O.R. at Fort Otter.

Sunday, 31st May.

Received news last night that General Strange had had a brush with Big Bear [at Frenchman's Butte], and that our aid was required to hunt the redskin. Our Brigade accordingly boarded steamers early in the morning and are now on our way west to try conclusions with Big Bear. We hope to clean him out in quick order. Should we go into action (and we may at any moment), I feel sure we will all be found at the post of duty to the last.

Saturday, 6th June.

We are now at Fort Pitt. On reaching a point about 4 miles below the Fort we landed and pitched camp, having previously learned that Big Bear had skipped out, on learning of our trip up the river. A second time we had expected to have our baptism of fire and a second time we were disappointed. On the third day after landing we proceeded to Fort Pitt and settled down there to await further orders. And further orders have just come, to the effect that we proceed at once to Frog Lake and join General Strange's column. Some of the boys are hoping that we shall yet see Big Bear.

Sunday, 7th June.

Boarded the *North West* again this morning and proceeded about 25 miles up the river to the Frog Lake Landing. There we camped for the night. Reverend Mr. Quinny, one of Big Bear's former prisoners, has been appointed Chaplain to the Battalion and held services twice today. He appears to be an honest, earnest man who has lost his all in the uprising. Before leaving the Landing, we and the Company of the 65th Battalion who are with us erected a tall wooden cross on the high river bank, to the memory of the victims of the Frog Lake massacre. The inscription, carved by a handy man with a jack knife, was drafted by Colonel Williams and read: "Erected to the Memory of the Victims of the Frog Lake Massacre April 1, '85 by the Midland Battalion, Ontario, and the 65th Battalion Quebec. Dieu et mon Droit."

Monday, 8th June.

Marched today past the scene of the Frog Lake massacre to Fish Lake, where we encamped for the night, a distance of 18 or 19 miles. The ruins of the little settlement, the scene of a most nefarious and cruel outrage, stirred the emotions wonderfully and made us almost blood-thirsty for the time being. In one of the cellars of the burnt houses we saw the remains of two of the victims, and there were many other eloquent evidences of the horrible fate meted out to the owners.

Fish Lake where we encamped tonight is a beautiful little sheet of water, clear and cold like spring water, which perhaps it is.

Tuesday, 9th June.

Marched about ten miles northward this forenoon to Saddle Lake, and while resting at noon received orders to return and garrison Frog Lake. We accordingly retraced in the evening our steps of the morning. This was the first time we had returned on our tracks.

Sunday, 14th June.

We are now encamped in a very nice spot at Frog Lake, and as we have not had much else to do we have had time to make a more thorough inspection of the place. The evidences we find of the heartless cruelty of our red foe would almost melt a heart of stone. Happy homes have been ruthlessly destroyed and the inmates separated by the gulf between time and eternity. In one place we found two half-buried bodies, while down at the mill which Messrs. Gowanlock and Laurie were erecting (former of whom was one of the massacred whites, and the latter of whom is an Officer of the 90th Battalion and sits a visitor in our tent as I write), we found letters and trinkets, the evident remains of a once happy home. Many letters were picked up by our men which had passed between Mr. and Mrs. Gowanlock before their marriage in October last. I read a few lines of one or two, and when I thought of the way one of the parties to that romance had been butchered in cold blood, without cause, I felt as if no punishment could be too rich for those specimens of "the noble red man" who had perpetrated the outrage. When the men found the circumstances attending the letters and their nature, be it said to their credit, they considered them too sacred to read and gave them to Rev. Mr. Quinny to be returned to Mrs. Gowanlock, who had been a prisoner with him in Big Bear's camp.

Tuesday, 16th June.

We are still at Frog Lake and have no news of going home, but are hoping for marching orders. The weather is dry, but very hot, and the mosquitoes are as fierce as wolves.

Thursday, 18th June.

Today our remaining two Companies ["G" and "H"] left at Swift Current two months ago rejoined us, and with them came our supplies from the good people at home. You may imagine the resulting joy in camp; the Battalion complete again; and our friends at home had remembered us with all kinds of comforts, necessities and luxuries from home, such as we had not seen or tasted for months. And then the spirit of kindness and thoughtfulness behind it all made us very happy.

Sunday, 21st June.

Left Frog Lake this morning en route for the river on our way home. We reached the landing, now dubbed Midland Landing, before noon, but had to wait for transportation until the *North West* hove in sight in the evening. We at once boarded her and started down the river eastward.

Monday, 22nd June.

Arrived at Fort Pitt again and at once disembarked and went under canvas once more. We expect to remain here for two or three days, or perhaps a little more.

Sunday, 28th June.

Three months today since we were ordered out, and here we are still at Fort Pitt, patiently awaiting orders for home, or elsewhere to relieve the monotony. Yesterday morning General Strange's column came into camp, and we hope to start down the river tomorrow or next day.

Wednesday, 1st July.

Had a review of the entire Force at Fort Pitt this morning at 6:30 by way of celebrating our country's birthday. Our Colonel, [A. T. H. Williams] much to the concern of the Midland, is seriously ill on the *North West*, although we do not as yet anticipate any serious danger.

Friday, 3rd July.

Boarded the *North West* again this evening en route for home. Divisional Orders to this effect came out yesterday evening and the joy of all ranks can be better imagined than described. The Colonel has been getting worse all day, and this evening his life is despaired of; but we are still trying to buoy ourselves up with the hope that he will yet be spared to return with us victorious. The doctors say he is dying of inflammation of the brain, while the symptoms are those of typhoid fever.

Saturday, 4th July.

This morning we began our voyage down the river; but our joy in being fairly on our way home was turned to sorrow by the death of our beloved Commander, who breathed for the last time about ten o'clock, about an hour after we pulled out from Fort Pitt. We did not consider him dangerously ill until yesterday, and our surprise and grief were profound. In proof of the great esteem in which he was held by all ranks, witness the tears of men who had not long since faced with him the jaws of death without a quiver. The glory of our trip home is all darkened now by the greatest grief that could have befallen us. We shall not soon see his like again.

Sunday, 5th July.

We put the Colonel's body ashore at Battleford, to be sent home overland, with a guard of honour. We paid him the last honours that military custom allows and left him with sad hearts.

Wednesday, 8th July.

Reached Prince Albert this morning and stayed until noon. Reached the confluence (Point Kenny) this evening and are now on the bosom of the broad Saskatchewan, free of sand bars and like obstacles. With us on the *North West* are the Queen's Own [Rifles], and finer travelling companions could not be found. They are comrades and gentlemen all. Our wounded who were able to travel again met us here and received a warm welcome.

Friday, 10th July.

We reached Grand Rapids, where the Saskatchewan falls into Lake Winnipeg, this evening. There is a portage of about 3 miles here, traversed by a rude tramway, over which freight and baggage can be transported. Our voyage down the Saskatchewan was memorable in many ways. The view reminded me of the scene that must have met Cartier's gaze when he first sailed up the St. Lawrence, a great river flowing steadily to the sea with virgin forests on both banks and no sign of human habitation. We passed Fort à la Corne, Cumberland House and some other historical Hudson's Bay posts, now uninhabited or only used occasionally, crossed the wider expanse of Cedar Lake and on the whole had a very interesting voyage.

The Q.O.R. had also recently received supplies and comforts from home, among them 5 gallons of best Hudson Bay rum, and with characteristic hospitality the officers entertained our officers at a banquet the first evening out on the main river. The refreshments consisted of some cake and unlimited quantities of excellent rum punch. We were seated at a long table running the whole length of the cabin. There was neither china, silver nor glass in evidence. We all brought our own table furniture, consisting of tin plates, tin cups, canteens and pannikins of all sizes and descriptions and occasional knives and forks, and no useless table linen adorned the board.

I shall never forget Colonel Miller of the Q.O.R. who presided at the head of the long table and with sedate and reverent mien ladled rum punch out of a five-gallon keg with a tin dipper into various smaller vessels with which the orderlies served the long tables. The punch was excellent and more potent than most of the diners realized. Being a youngster who had not yet learned to drink like a soldier, I merely tasted mine and passed it to an obliging neighbour who took care of it along with his own. A few others did not drink any more than I; but everyone who did drink got quite convivial, jolly and sociable. There were speeches, songs and jokes galore and everyone had a jolly good evening and there were no unpleasant nor regrettable occurrences. One very amusing incident, I remember. One of our best officers, Major H—, and Captain H—, of the Q.O.R., under the convivial influence of the punch, discovered that they were not only of the same name but were really long lost twin brothers and climbed the table and sang a rousing duet, which was received with great applause. This was the officers' first, last and only blow-out during the campaign and went off very happily and will long be remembered by those who were present.

Lake Winnipeg proved a fisherman's paradise for the followers of Isaac Walton. You could stand on the bank anywhere and throw in any kind of line with almost any kind of bait and pull out unlimited prizes, chiefly pike and pickerel.

Sunday, 12th July.

Have embarked on board a barge, really a schooner without masts, rigging or sail equipment, which we expect to take us to Selkirk.

Monday, 13th July.

The Steamer *Princess* has just taken us in tow and we are off again on the rolling waters (a little too much roll at times) of Lake Winnipeg.

Wednesday, 15th July.

Arrived at Selkirk this morning. There are only a few buildings here, but four of them are saloons, and the stuff they sell must be the worst kind of fire-water as we had not been more than 15 minutes ashore when there were several rows on among the men. The N.W. Territories were, of course, under prohibition, which was strictly enforced by the N.W.M.P., and this was the first place where liquor had been generally available since we had left home and the men who drank (many, of course, didn't) had their blow-out here. All we could do was to shepherd them aboard the train, which we succeeded in doing without any serious trouble or accidents, and we were soon en route again for Port Arthur. The Q.O.R. accepted an invitation to Winnipeg to celebrate the return of the troops there, but we were unable to do so as we were being rushed home for the Colonel's funeral.

Friday, 17th July.

Reached Port Arthur early this morning and at once embarked on the C.P.R. Steamer *Alberta*. The first thing we had was a luxurious breakfast on board—strawberries and cream, no less, not to speak of many other luxuries. This was the first normal civilized meal we had had for three months and perhaps we didn't do justice to it! The C.P.R. would not have much profit on the Government allowance for that meal. The contrast between that menu and the hard-tack, canned corn beef and pork and beans, on which we had been living, was so great we could hardly realize that it wasn't a dream. The boat did not sail until about noon, and in the meantime, we had to give the men shore leave to see the town. In the result, almost everyone who drank finished up the celebration started at Selkirk; but this time they were well fed and happy and no unpleasant incidents occurred. We managed to get everyone on board and every man in the Regiment was as sober as a judge (however sober that may be) until we disbanded at Port Hope after the Colonel's funeral. The 9th Voltigeurs of Quebec were our ship-mates on this vessel.

Sunday, 19th July.

After a very pleasant voyage, we landed at Owen Sound about 11 a.m. to-day and as soon as possible entrained for Toronto, which was reached shortly before six o'clock this evening. We marched from the Union Station to the Albion Hotel, where we were the guests of the City at dinner, and we were welcomed everywhere by very enthusiastic crowds who almost killed us with kindness. I never realized before how many pretty girls there were in the City and how very interesting and human they could be. They plied us with questions and requests for souvenirs and the chap who managed to save all his buttons was lucky. We, on our side,

looked the part of the war-worn veteran all right. We were almost as brown as the Indians we had been chasing. Our uniform, originally scarlet and blue, was worn and faded beyond recognition, often patched with oat bags and sometimes abandoned for any clothes we could procure. Many pairs of trousers had been worn out and replaced by others, bought in a Hudson Bay store or some other trading post, of a very loud grey plaid pattern which did not harmonize very well with the Queen's uniform. On our heads we wore service caps which we had manufactured ourselves out of oat bags and dyed with coffee.

After doing justice to the City's hospitality, we entrained again and reached Port Hope a couple of hours later where we went under canvas again in the Town Park.

Tuesday, 21st July.

Yesterday we spent receiving friends, polishing up as much as possible and practising the funeral exercise. To-day we laid the Colonel's body in his family plot, amid a vast concourse of people from all East Durham (which he had represented in the House of Commons for several years) and from many other parts of Ontario, and indeed from all Canada. The rank and file of the Midland constituted the firing party, in charge of three officers from his own old Regiment (the 46th East Durham) of whom I was one. Several companies of the same Regiment and detachments of neighbouring units, as well as the remaining officers of the Midland, followed as mourners.

Wednesday, 22nd July.

To-day we drew our pay, disbanded and set out for home.

Note: The campaign had been an experience well worth while. The North West had been a splendid country for soldiering. The sick had become well and the weaklings had become strong and there was practically neither sickness nor disease. The Colonel was the only man of the unit who did not live to return to Ontario. The campaign was unique in the fact that there was practically no crime. I believe there was never a Court Martial during the expedition, while if "Orderly Room" was ever held it was remarkable for its rarity. I do not remember any in our Battalion. This condition was due, in large measure, to the prohibition in force in the Territories. Our Battalion had been recruited largely in the towns of the Lake Ontario waterfront, from hard-bitten sailors and dockworkers, who, if liquor had been generally available, would sometimes have been in trouble; but without anything strong to drink they were the finest and best-behaved and most loyal troops possible; and the same was generally true of all our rank and file.

The Territorial Grain Growers' Association

On April 8, 1916, Hopkins Moorhouse, author of *Deep Furrows*, recorded the recollections of the Hon. W. R. Motherwell concerning the founding of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association fifteen years previously. Mr. Motherwell had been the first president of the Association, and at the time of the interview was the Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan, a position to which he had been appointed in 1905 by virtue of his practical knowledge of agriculture and his prominent role in the farm movement of that period. Motherwell was one of the original settlers in the Abernethy district (1882), and in the years which followed he experienced the stresses and difficulties which economic conditions imposed on the pioneer agriculturalists of the Canadian plains region. The first important farmers' organization, the Patrons of Industry (see *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. VII, pp. 51-55) had disappeared in the morass of party politics, though its agitation had contributed to the passage of *The Manitoba Grain Act*. But the Territorial Grain Growers' Association and the organizations to which it gave birth have had a profound and continuing influence on the economy and society of Western Canada. Since 1901, prairie farmers have never been without instruments for advancing their political, economic and social aspirations.

Moorhouse recorded his interview with Mr. Motherwell under the title "Story of The Early Days"; it is reproduced below from a copy in the Motherwell Papers (Archives of Saskatchewan). Much of it was incorporated in the opening chapters of *Deep Furrows*.

On August 19, 1955, there was unveiled at Indian Head a cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to commemorate the founding of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association.

The Editor.

STORY OF THE EARLY DAYS—HON. W. R. MOTHERWELL, REGINA

(From an interview by Hopkins Moorhouse, April 8th, 1916)

MR. MOTHERWELL had been marketing his grain and hauling in to Indian Head or Sintaluta for twenty years. The distance was twenty-five and twenty miles respectively, and along with his neighbors he suffered untold hardships and got unmercifully used by the elevators in respect to dockage, grade, etc., until patience seemed to cease to be a virtue.

It took a day and part of two nights to haul a load of wheat to market. The farmers were travelling a mile for every bushel marketed; so that to market 5,000 bushels the farmer must travel five thousand miles. They had to start from home at one, two or three a.m. and at that early hour there was no means of knowing what the weather would be like during the trip; once started on the journey the farmer had to go through, no matter what kind of weather developed as there was no place between where he could stop for shelter. And these farmers who were drawing all winter up those Qu'Appelle hills were being simply crucified at the marketing end of each trip. The widespread resentment of the farmers was not based so much upon the sacrifice of the grain taken in toll as upon the fact that it was so taken after the long cruel haul; had they gone out to the farm and helped themselves the grain men would have been comparatively welcome to do so.

While this sort of thing continued for twenty years it so calloused and hardened the people against everybody and anybody in authority that the farmers were willing to do almost anything to obtain redress. But the steadier and more composed among them counselled more moderate constitutional methods in preference to violence.

The Grain Act was passed before the farmers formed their organization—in the fall of 1899; it was operative the first year 1900. But so far as car distribution was concerned it was a dead letter; the railway absolutely ignored it and that incensed the farmers. The fight with the elevators had culminated in the Grain Act. It was their—sort of Magna Charta. The farmers' disgust when it proved practically a dead letter can be imagined. 1900 was a light crop year and the evils existing had been more quiescent on that account; but 1901, which was a large crop year—that simply completed the disgust of the farmers. Some of them openly advocated violence. But there was one constitutional means of redress which they had not yet resorted to; that was organization; in the same way that the breeders organized in order that they might speak as a body upon all matters which affected them, so could the grain growers organize officially.

When this matter was broached many would jump to their feet in protest. "No, the time for organization is gone," they declared; "It's bullets we want and guns that are needed!"

"There are very few today," says Mr. Motherwell, "who know how near the people were to resorting to violence at that time instead of laying the foundation of the Grain Growers' Association.

"In 1901 it was in my house that Mr. Peter Dayman and I—I don't know how we happened to be there, but we just took a piece of paper from an ordinary pad and I drafted a letter to send to a number of farmers from Wolseley to Qu'Appelle, asking them to meet at Indian Head on a given date to consult as to what were the best steps to be taken in order to work out some remedy to existing conditions. We both signed the letter because it would help to remove any suspicion that there was anything political in the move.

"We met at Indian Head and it was the same day [December 18, 1901] that Premier Roblin and Premier Haultain were meeting in connection with boundary matters between Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. There was a large crowd there. I took advantage of the presence of this crowd; their meeting was at night and we called our meeting for the afternoon. Instead of about a dozen farmers there, as I had expected, the movement got noised abroad with the result that we had from sixty to seventy-five farmers there in addition to a number of public men.

"At this initial meeting we decided to form what was called then the 'Territorial Grain Growers' Association' and they appointed me as provisional President and John Millar of Indian Head was appointed provisional Secretary.

"That meeting adjourned to reassemble in Indian Head—I am pretty sure it was the 6th of January—to draft a constitution and prepare a plan of campaign in line with the constitution. At this second meeting there were just eleven present and it certainly didn't look very promising for the young organization. It was at this meeting that it was decided to have a central organization with its officers and locals with their officers scattered throughout the country, just as we have to-day. Much of the phraseology in the Grain Growers' constitution to-day is exactly as it was at that meeting.

"I might say that one of the eleven present was C. W. Peterson, then Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture for the Territories. He offered his services to the fledging organization in the capacity of secretary; but those farmers felt that they had had it put over them so in so many ways and for so long that they would trust nobody in authority and decided to appoint their own secretary in the person of John Millar, without salary at first.

"Matt. Snow started in one direction, I started in another and John Millar in another, holding meetings throughout the country and organizing locals, which movement took like wildfire wherever it was set before the people, with the result that by February between thirty and forty locals had been formed with as many representatives at our first Annual Convention, held at Indian Head.

"About this time I was invited by the present Hon. President of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association to go down to Virden and assist them in organizing their first local at Virden. Mr. Snow accompanied me on that trip and we were thus privileged to assist Mr. Scallion in laying the foundation of the organization in our sister province to the east.

"Our own first convention was a decided success, although the attendance of delegates was small in numbers as compared with to-day's conventions. Nevertheless it was an aggressive nucleus to begin with and it kept growing apace. By the time the fall and market season of 1902 came round our young organization had grown quite strong and thrifty, but had not had any particular opportunity to demonstrate in dollars and cents to the farmers its usefulness and the necessity of organization.

"In November of 1902, however, the C.P.R. undertook to continue its old methods of distributing cars, regardless of the car-order book provisions of the Grain Act, and in spite of the repeated warnings of the officers of the Grain Growers' Association that if they persisted in this practice the farmers' organization would be compelled to take legal action against them. That this young organization would actually contemplate legal proceedings against such a huge organization as the C.P.R. looked like such a big joke that it was unheeded."

Peter Dayman of Abernethy and Mr. Motherwell went down to Winnipeg to see Mr. Leonard of the C.P.R. Mr. Motherwell left Mr. Dayman there to follow up the matter. Mr. Dayman reported that while he had received lots of promises, there was no improvement.

"When he came back," says Mr. Motherwell, "we simply got out a standard form of information and complaint and notified the railway that we were going to take legal action at Sintaluta against the station agent and if we got results there, that we would take action against every railway agent in the Territories.

"This proved to be the farmers' opportunity to make good. They consequently entered action against the railway agent at Sintaluta for distributing cars contrary to the provisions of the car-order book, first having made the complaint before Mr. C. C. Castle, then Warehouse Commissioner.

"The information was laid before the late H. O. Partridge, who was the presiding magistrate. Mr. Mathers (now Judge Mathers of Winnipeg) was acting

counsel on behalf of Mr. Castle while J. A. M. Aikins (now Sir James Aikins, M.P.) was representing the C.P.R.

"The preliminary trial at Sintaluta before the Magistrate's court created a great deal of interest throughout the Territories with the result that a large number of public men from Regina and elsewhere were present at the trial, including Walter Scott and G. H. V. Bulyea. The decision of the Magistrate's court was against the railway agent and he was accordingly fined \$50.00 and costs.

"This decision was appealed to the Supreme Court and the appeal case was tried before the late Chief Justice Richardson, whose decision sustained the action of the lower court without any question. Needless to say, the railway authorities were disgusted and chagrined while the farmers were correspondingly elated and encouraged. While the railways naturally did not like our action in bringing them to court, they had to admit that we gave them full warning before we took such drastic action. The upshot of it was, therefore, that instead of the leaders of the farmers' movement and the railway authorities being on less friendly terms, they were really better friends because we had won their respect. It was unnecessary to carry out our threat of proceeding against every agent in the Territories; for as soon as the decision of the lower court was sustained by the higher, the C.P.R. behaved itself.

"This particular legal event of ours was freely discussed and advertised in the local press of the day, and the young organization felt that it had demonstrated to the people at large that it had a useful function to perform and could perform it when the opportunity presented itself."

Two hours before the trial of the above case opened in the Magistrate's court, C.P.R. counsel suggested that instead of laying information against the company for two charges, the farmers should also charge them with violating some five or six other sections of the Act in order to get a decision on them; they, the Company, would then plead guilty to the offenses for the purpose of this case.

"This thought was so entirely new to the assembled farmers" recalled Mr. Motherwell, "that they suspected some trickery. Besides, some of them were aware that an information could not be changed on such short notice without risking an adjournment of the court. On the other hand, it did seem advisable to have the meaning of the other doubtful sections of the Act cleaned up. Consequently, the then President of the Grain Growers' Association turned to Mr. Aikins and told him if he would give his pledged word before the assembled crowd of farmers that he would not take technical advantage of the suggested change in the information by raising objections when the court opened—if he would give this pledge the change would be acceded to. This agreement was entered into most solemnly by Mr. Aikins and the President of the Association shaking hands before the assembled crowd of interested farmers."

After this case had been threshed out things began to come the farmers' way and when Mr. Motherwell and J. B. Gillespie of the Territories, together with Dan McQuaig and R. C. Henders, Ex-President and present President of the

Manitoba Association, went down to Ottawa to get some further amendments to the Grain Act, they got practically everything they asked for.

The first two annual meetings of the farmers' organization were held at Indian Head in the winters of '01-'02 and '02-'03 respectively. The third annual meeting was in Regina on the invitation of the delegates from the Regina district. This annual convention in the capital city gave the movement an immense stimulus and publicity that was felt for years afterward.

"During the first two years we were the object of more or less curiosity and some ridicule," says Mr. Motherwell, "by those who were familiar with farmers' organizations in the past and prediction was freely made that it would be only two or three years before we would go up in smoke. But I remember distinctly that the late Senator Perley made a prediction at the initial meeting at Indian Head that he had been familiar with a somewhat similar movement in New Brunswick which was still in existence and doing good work and that long after those who constituted this first meeting had passed away, this new organization would still be living, expanding and performing a useful service for the farmers generally."

Up to '05 the organization had only one or two delegates from that portion of the Territories now constituting Alberta; but when Alberta became a province, the necessary steps were taken immediately to organize themselves. Eventually this movement took the form of the present organization in that province under the title of the United Farmers of Alberta.

Asked concerning the work of Mr. W. H. Gaddes, Mr. Motherwell said that he was put on for two weeks in Winnipeg. He was there to look after the grading of their cars. He was on for two or three weeks only, and only at intervals.

"But at the annual convention in the winter of 1905 we decided to place Mr. E. A. Partridge there to look after the grading of our cars and our interests generally. And Mr. Partridge gave us the first report of his work in Winnipeg at the following convention, held at Moose Jaw in January and February of '06.

"Mr. Partridge was sent down there by the Executive in the winter of '05 to look after the grading of the cars and the farmers' interests generally, as I have said. While there, he became so incensed against the grain trade and so impressed with the idea that the farmers should go into a commercial grain commission venture themselves that he conceived the idea of an organization for that purpose, which venture developed into the Grain Growers' Grain Company. He reported along those lines at the subsequent convention of the Association at Moose Jaw."

The successful history of the Grain Growers' Grain Co. and what in some respects might be called its twin brother *The Grain Growers' Guide*, and their respective relationship to the parent Grain Growers' Association of to-day, is too familiar to present-day readers to be strictly termed part of the "Story of the Early Days."

Golden Jubilee News



ONE of the most significant features of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in Saskatchewan has been the production and publication of local histories. These have been compiled under various auspices, and have been published in various forms—some are printed, with handsome illustrations; others are mimeographed and have a modest format. In previous issues of *Saskatchewan History* the first of these publications have been individually reviewed. Now, midway in Jubilee Year, their number has increased to such an extent that we are simply listing them for purposes of record and to enable libraries and interested persons to secure them

before the usually limited stock is exhausted. The items which appear below, along with those reviewed in previous issues, include all that have come to the attention of the editor up to date of publication. Other Jubilee local histories which appear hereafter will be listed in succeeding issues of *Saskatchewan History*.

This list has been prepared by Miss Christine MacDonald, a member of the staff of the Legislative Library, Regina.

ANEROID

History of Aneroid. By Aneroid High School, 1955. Pp. 16, illus. 60c. Available from V. J. Andreas, Principal, Aneroid School, Aneroid.

ASSINIBOIA

Golden Memories. By D. B. Ferguson and others, eds. Assiniboia: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 88, illus. \$1.00. Available from F. E. Jones or T. G. Ross, Assiniboia.

BATTLEFORD

Historic Battleford. By C. Wetton. Battleford: Board of Trade Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 72, illus. \$1.50.

BETHLEHEM SCANDINAVIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

A Short History of Bethlehem Community, Hawarden, Sask., 1902-1955. By Marion Pederson. Hawarden: Bethlehem Ladies Aid, 1955. Pp. 16, illus. Available from Mrs. Orville Pederson, Hawarden.

BROADVIEW

The Good Old Days of Broadview. By Mavis Anderson and Orville Fitz Gerald, eds. Broadview: High School, 1955. Pp. 46, illus., mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Miss Arlene Green, Broadview.

BROWNLEE

Brownlee District, 1905-1955. By Tom MacDonald, ed. 1955. Pp. 84, maps, mimeo. 75c. Available from Mrs. M. Goddard, Brownlee.

BUFFALO R.M. No. 409

Golden Jubilee Manual, 1910-1955. Wilkie: Buffalo R.M. No. 409, 1955. Pp. 45, illus., maps. \$1.00. Available from F. R. Beggs, Sec.-Treas., Buffalo R.M. No. 409, Wilkie.

BURNHAM

50 Years Along the Cutbank. By Burnham Homemakers Club. 1955. Pp. 16, illus. \$1.00. Distributed by Secretary, Burnham Homemakers Club, Burnham.

CARNDUFF

This Way, Homesteader. By Don Collins and Margaret Dunham. Carnduff: Golden Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 25, illus. \$1.00. Available from Rev. Don Collins, Carnduff.

CLIMAX

Climax Before and After. By A. H. Stevens. Climax: Board of Trade, 1955. Pp. 10, illus. \$1.00. Available from Board of Trade, Climax.

DUNDURN

Dundurn; the Village and District of Dundurn Throughout the Years. By Dundurn School. 1955. Pp. 89, illus., ditto.

EASTEND

History and Reminiscences of Eastend and District. By H. S. Jones and others. 1955. Pp. 35, illus. \$1.00. Available from H. S. Jones, Eastend.

ELSTOW-CLAVET

Sod Shack to Atomic Age; Elstow-Clavet. By Elstow High School. 1955. Pp. 36, illus., maps. \$1.00. Available from Lloyd Trimble, Elstow.

GLEN EWEN

See Oxbow.

HANLEY

Hanley; the Story of the Town and District. By Hanley High School. 1955. Pp. 134, illus. \$1.75. Available from G. W. Chase, Hanley High School, P.O. Box 287, Hanley.

HERBERT

These Golden Years. By Herbert School. 1955. Pp. 47, illus. \$1.00. Available from R. L. Shaw, Herbert School, Herbert.

HUDSON BAY

The Hudson Bay Story. By Hudson Bay High School. 1955. Pp. 62, mimeo.

JEDBURGH

History of Jedburgh; Fifty Years of Progress. By Jedburgh School. 1955. Pp. 20, mimeo. 50c. Available from Maynard Woollard, Principal, Jedburgh School, Jedburgh.

KERROBERT

History of Kerrobert. By Kerrobert High School. 1955. Pp. 65, illus., mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Kerrobert High School, P.O. Box 279, Kerrobert.

LANIGAN

Lanigan, 1905-1955. By Lanigan Golden Jubilee Committee. 1955. Pp. 73, illus. \$1.25. Available from C. T. Pickering, Chairman, Golden Jubilee Committee, Lanigan.

MAIDSTONE

Between the Rivers; Maidstone, Saskatchewan. By Grace Foster, Dorothy Foster, and Wm. Bullock. Maidstone: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 88, illus., map. \$1.50.

MAIN CENTRE

Green Grass to Golden Grain. By Main Centre School. 1955. Pp. 18, mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Herbert School Unit No. 23, Herbert.

MACKLIN

A Short History of Macklin and Community. By Macklin Home and School Association. 1955. Pp. 32, illus., mimeo. \$1.25.

MANITOU LAKE

See Neilburg.

MAYMONT

The Story of Maymont. By Maymont Golden Jubilee Committee. 1955. Pp. 50, illus. \$1.50. Available from J. N. Armstrong, Maymont.

MELFORT

Voices of the Past; a History of Melfort and District. By Timothy Ryan. Melfort: Melfort and District Golden Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 138, illus. \$1.25. Available from T. Ryan, P.O. Box 1403, Melfort.

MELVILLE

The Melville Story. By Melville High School. Pp. 57, illus. 50c. Available from J. K. Reynolds, 626 7th St. W., Melville.

NEILBURG

A Glance Back, 1955-1905. By Mrs. Jennie Johnston and others. Neilburg: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 119, illus. \$2.00. Available from L. E. Gibbons, Neilburg.
Covers the Manitou Lake area.

OXBOW

Pioneer Days in the Oxbow and Glen Ewen Districts. By Wm. Langrish, Ambrose Dowkes, and Edith Campbell. Oxbow: Oxbow Herald, 1955. Pp. 38, illus. \$1.00. Available from J. J. Stutters, Editor, Oxbow Herald, Oxbow.

ROCHE PERCEE

History of Roche Percee, Saskatchewan. By Senior Room of Roche Percee School. 1955. Pp. 15, map. 50c. Available from E. J. Hegel, Principal, Roche Percee S.D. No. 414, Roche Percee.

SHAUNAVON

Shaunavon Town and Community. By Mrs. J. Ganley, ed. Pp. 32. 50c. Available from J. L. Houston, Secretary, Shaunavon S.D. No. 3228, Shaunavon.

SWARTHMORE DISTRICT

Golden Threads; the Tapestry of Swarthmore. By the Swarthmore Jubilee Association. 1955. Pp. 48, illus. \$1.50. Available from F. R. Beggs, Drawer 100, Wilkie.

SWIFT CURRENT

The Golden Waves. By Grade X of Swift Current Collegiate Institute. 1955. Pp. 30, mimeo. Free.

The Story of the Frontier City; Ever Onward. By Grades XI and XII of Swift Current Collegiate Institute. 1955. Pp. 22, mimeo. Free.

VANSKOY

The Story of Vanscoy Community. By M. D. Worden. Vanscoy: Ladies Service Club, 1955. Pp. 23, illus. \$1.00. Available from Mrs. M. D. Worden, Vanscoy.

VIBANK

Vibank. By Elsas High School. Vibank: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 50, mimeo. \$2.00.

VISCOUNT

The Viscount Story. Viscount: Golden Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 64, illus. \$2.00. Available from Anthony Dennis, Viscount.

WEYBURN

Pioneer Days of Weyburn. By Weyburn Golden Jubilee Committee. 1955. Pp. 40, illus. 50c.

WILKIE

Fifty Years of Progress; District of Wilkie. By W. A. Hook, E. N. Carter, and M. A. Wilson. Wilkie: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 45, illus. \$1.00. Available from Wilkie Press, Wilkie.

YORKTON

Ox-trails to Highways; Yorkton Pioneers. By H. S. Swallow. Yorkton: Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 111, illus. \$2.00.

Book Reviews

SASKATCHEWAN HARVEST. A Golden Jubilee Selection of Song and Story. Edited by Carlyle King. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1955. Pp. 224. Paper \$1.00, Cloth \$2.50.

WHAT so easily might have been merely a Golden Jubilee souvenir has turned out to be one of our best anthologies of Canadian literature. Canadian—because, as Dr. King points out in his preface, his collection is not limited to “Saskatchewan” writers. His aim, he states, has been to bring together “writers who have had experience of life in Saskatchewan and have recorded that experience as clearly, as honestly, and as intensely as they could.” Nor has Dr. King limited himself to standard works or published volumes in his search for material. Many of the finest selections, both prose and poetry, have been culled from periodicals, and one of the most delightful pieces in the book is from an unpublished manuscript by Norma Beck, young Yorkton author. It is this wide and discerning catholicity, the keynote of the entire volume, which enables it to reflect so vividly so many facets of life in our province.

Saskatchewan Harvest is a model of clear, concise, unobtrusive editing. Dr. King has contributed a brief but adequate preface, and a brief introductory note to each selection. He has organized his selections according to a logical pattern, titled them appropriately—and that is all. Thereafter, the selections speak for themselves. His arrangement, itself one of the attractive features of the book, is in five sections: Of Land and Sky, The First Inhabitants, The Sodbusters, People and Problems, and Our Story Tellers. While not chronological, this framework does help to give an historical as well as a literary perspective of the life of the province.

Dr. King has avoided the common pitfalls of anthologists. His prose excerpts, for example, are skillfully chosen so as not to be mere “samples” torn from the context of an author’s work, but so as to stand on their own feet as readable, interesting selections. In two instances, he has wisely chosen complete short stories, to represent the work of Frederick Philip Grove and Sinclair Ross.

This reviewer’s only criticism is a feeling that certain sections could have benefitted from a better balance as between the strictly “literary” type of selection and the more “popular” literature, as expressed in folklore, public speeches, newspapers and periodicals, etc. To take but one example, while Dr. King’s selections give a vivid picture of the bitter effects of the depression, they fail to present as adequately the sustained struggle against them, a struggle which frequently gave eloquent expression to the pressing needs of the time. Such a balance might have been attained without appreciably increasing the size of the volume, and without in any way lowering Dr. King’s high standards of inclusion.

Saskatchewan Harvest is that rare delight among anthologies, a volume notable for the high quality as well as the stimulating variety of its contents. The format and typography are excellent and contribute to its appeal. Readers will find many old favourites as well as fresh and happy surprises in this collection, which succeeds admirably in conveying what Dr. King calls “the outer and the inner weather” of Saskatchewan as represented in our literature.

JOHN MARSHALL.

BUCKSKIN BRIGADIER. The Story of the Alberta Field Force. By Edward McCourt. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1955. Pp. vii, 150, illus. \$2.00.

EDWARD MCCOURT, a professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan is well-known as an author of four adult books, one of which, *Music at the Close* won the Ryerson fiction award.

Buckskin Brigadier, the story of the Alberta Field Force, written for the Great Stories of Canada Series, is his first story for young people. Mr. McCourt in the preface says, "The story of the Riel Rebellion of 1885 is familiar in its broad outlines to most Canadians; but the heroic role played in the suppression of the Rebellion by the Alberta Field Force under the command of Major-General Tom Strange is less well-known than it deserves to be . . . This book is written to introduce young Canadians to a remarkable leader and a remarkable little army."

The author's boyhood was lived on an Alberta homestead, a few miles from Frog Lake where the Rebellion of 1885 had its beginning. Much of the material for his story was drawn from General Strange's own book, *Gunner Jingo's Jubilee*, and *War Trail of Big Bear* by William Cameron, the only white man to survive the Frog Lake massacre.

The story, *Buckskin Brigadier*, is woven around the historical character of Tom Strange, a major-general of the Imperial Army who had retired to a ranch in Alberta near Calgary and whose command of the Alberta Field Force at the outbreak of the Rebellion earned him the cherished nickname "The Buckskin Brigadier." Upon the request of the Canadian government he assembled a hodge-podge volunteer army of cowboys, settlers, a troop of French Canadians from Montreal, a battalion of raw recruits from Winnipeg and a band of Mounted Police under the splendid leadership of Sam Steele. This was the birth of the Alberta Field Force. Professor McCourt's moving account of the 500-mile pursuit of Big Bear and his warriors, of the hardships endured by this little army, the fight against hunger, mosquitoes and disillusionment and of the keen strategy required to compete in battle with the Indians makes this part of Saskatchewan history live vividly for the reader. The doses of history are made easily digestible by the author's clever use of anecdotes and little personal narratives which provide the sugar-coating.

All the characters are pictured in strong relief. The idiosyncrasies and sterling qualities of the Indian are portrayed as sharply as are those of the members of the Alberta Field Force. Boys and girls who read this true adventure story will acquire an unforgettable account of the Rebellion of 1885 because its leading characters will have been brought to life for them.

ALICE TURNER.

SASKATCHEWAN. THE HISTORY OF A PROVINCE. By J. F. C. Wright. Illustrated by A. W. Davey; Research Assistant, Alexander Robb. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1955. Pp. xi, 292, illus., maps. \$5.00.

SASKATCHEWAN is one of the most distinctive and interesting of the Canadian provinces. Nevertheless, it has to be explained. Nature did not design it, nor history call for it. Alberta is the foothills, Manitoba the Winnipeg Basin, but Saskatchewan is a stretch of prairie crossed by a river draining the foothills into Lake Winnipeg. Manitoba was the pivot of North-West history, as Alberta

is the pivot of the history of the farther North-West. But Saskatchewan falls flat between these two stools, and the reason for its being is to seek.

No one would deny, however, certainly not this reviewer, that Saskatchewan has amply justified its being. It is the quintessential Canadian West, unmarred by mountain scenery, or eastern conservatism. It is daring where Manitoba is cautious, and carries things with a swing where Alberta is likely to fall into a swagger. It is the Australia of the Canadian provinces, bold, independent, and challenging. The people of Saskatchewan have known every extreme of hardship and disappointment, but they held on, came through unembittered, and made their province what they dreamed, a well found home of free men.

All these interesting characteristics are, unfortunately, carefully concealed in the book under review. It is not the book one would expect for the occasion, or the book one would expect from its author. *Saskatchewan, The History of a Province*, reads like a book written by a committee, not by a practised author of Mr. Wright's quality. As a result, the book, in the judgment of this reviewer, neither bears the impress of an author's mind nor defines the character of its subject. It is not, in the best sense of the word, a book; it is only a production.

As such, it has much to commend it. The publisher has done a most creditable job; the jacket is lively and attractive, the binding good. Mr. Davey's illustrations are nearly always helpful, and this side of the book was well conceived and well executed. The maps are numerous and useful. The plan of the text is straightforward and competent. No real attempt is made to solve the problem of how to write the history of a province, the greater part of which history occurred before the province existed. It is accordingly only at page 70 that a general survey of western Canadian history comes into focus, and a certain liveliness begins to stir the general dull competence of the narrative. From there on, the reader is given a judicious, well-balanced history of Saskatchewan, a useful work of reference, a book to be read once conscientiously and put on the shelf.

The general reader will be grateful for the telling of the whole story in proportion. The student will not find much that is new, in fact or in presentation, and may indeed feel that opportunities have been missed to put on record lively parts of the Saskatchewan story, such as more detail of the rise of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan. But no doubt in the circumstances there were constraints from which a private author would have been free. The painstaking effort to be accurate and comprehensive is everywhere evident. This reviewer would note only two errors. The Manitoba and North-Western Railway began at Portage la Prairie, not Winnipeg, and E. A. Partridge was Ontario, not English-born. And a reading of pages 99 and 100 creates surprise that in a province made possible by agricultural science the story of the victories of that science should have been so casually and inadequately told.

So critical a review is a discordant note in the celebration of the first half-century of a great province whose race is only begun. But the purpose and character of the book challenged an objective judgment. *Saskatchewan* is a creditable publication every citizen of the province should have, and every library interested in Canadian history should order. But it is not *the* history of Saskatchewan. That awaits a more untrammelled pen.

W. L. MORTON.

Notes and Correspondence

READERS are asked to note an error in the last issue of *Saskatchewan History* where the article by Mr. Albert Andrew (pp. 68-9) incorrectly locates the scene of the prairie fire in the Zehner district. This fire was in the Zelma district. We regret this error, for which Mr. Andrew was not responsible.

The series of Pioneer Questionnaires being issued by the Archives of Saskatchewan has been completed by the addition of three new questionnaires, dealing with pioneer health (No. 8), pioneer housing (No. 9), and local government (No. 10). These are now being circulated, and the response has been most gratifying. Copies of these last questionnaires, as well as earlier questionnaires in the series, may be obtained by writing to the Saskatchewan Archives Office, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

To date, over 1,100 pioneer citizens have completed one or more of the ten questionnaires in the series. Earlier questionnaires dealt with the following topics: No. 1—Pioneer Diet; No. 2—General; No. 3—Schools; No. 4—Churches; No. 5—Recreation and Social Life; No. 6—Pioneer Farming; No. 7—Pioneer Folklore. Completed Questionnaires will be permanently preserved in the Archives Office at the University. Much useful information for Jubilee year articles and broadcasts has been obtained from the questionnaires, and from time to time reports on material in them will appear in *Saskatchewan History*.

A new and attractive 36-page pamphlet entitled *The Western Development Museum*, has recently been issued. Compiled by the genial and efficient curator, George Shepherd, this booklet will be welcomed by friends of the Museum who have looked forward to being able to procure an illustrated guide to the collections. The excellent photographs with full captions constitute a useful source of reference for all who are interested in the history of technology as applied to prairie agriculture. The pamphlet sells for 55 cents per copy postpaid and may be obtained by writing to the Western Development Museum, Saskatoon.

Contributors

J. T. SAYWELL is an instructor in history at the University of Toronto and is preparing a study of the office of Lieutenant-Governor in the Canadian provinces.

W. F. HARGARTEN is a pioneer homesteader and druggist of the Bruno district.

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JOHN MARSHALL is librarian of the Yorkton School Unit.

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